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THE MONROE DOCTRINE

WILLIAM A. MACCORKLE

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THE MONROE DOCTRINE

IN ITS RELATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

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THE MONROE DOCTRINE

IN ITS RELATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

By

WILLIAM A. MacCORKLE, LL.D.

Former Governor of West Virginia

Author of "Some Southern Questions," Etc., Etc.

NEW YORK

THE NEALE PUBLISHING COMPANY

1915

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INSCRIBED TO MY FRIEND,
GENERAL EDWARD P. MEANY,
OF ALNWICK HALL

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PREFACE

With the construction of the Panama Canal and the consequent change of commercial lines the importance of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico to the United States is enormously enhanced. With this change of commercial lines the Island of Haiti and San Domingo, in the Caribbean Sea, has become of supreme importance to the United States.

This book is in no sense of the word a study or a philosophical treatise. It is simply a statement of the present situation of the Republic of Haiti and our relation to it under the Monroe Doctrine, a statement that is made for the purpose of giving our people some information as to this little known but most important and strategic island. The general substance of this little book is contained in an address delivered at Philadelphia, April 3, 1914, before the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Since that time the chronically bad status of the Republic of Haiti has become very much more acute, and to-day is caus-

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ing but little less anxiety to our government than does the Republic of Mexico.

I have included in this volume Washington's Address, President Monroe's message, and the later interpretation of that instrument, in order that the reader, as he studies the situation, may have the foundation of the Doctrine with him and may be able more accurately to decide as to the soundness of the conclusions herein drawn.

Charleston, West Virginia.
July 1, 1914.

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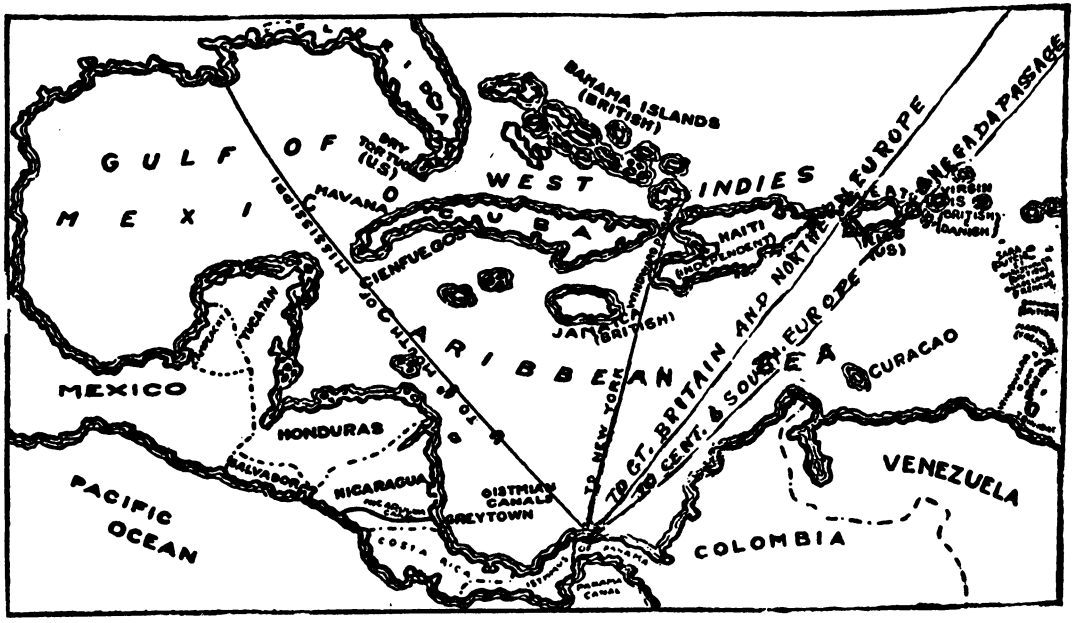

MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF HAITI

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THE MONROE DOCTRINE IN ITS RELATION TO HAITI

I

FOUNDATION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By many, Washington's farewell address is considered the germ of the Monroe Doctrine. One view, however, shows this judgment to be not technically correct. While President Washington made plain that we should have as little political connection as possible with foreign nations and that our isolated position was our protection, he had in mind the question of alliances with the European governments. He had just gone through the annoyances that sprang from complications arising from our sentimental feeling toward one of those governments. While this was true, he emphasized our isolated position and the importance of maintaining that position. He did not have his attention directed to the question of European intervention so much as to the dan-

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gers of the permanent alliance that we might make with a European country. This isolation, when carried to its fruition, is the practical foundation of the Monroe Doctrine.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. . . .

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will

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cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are not at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagement. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them."

In 1822 Austria, Russia, and Prussia formed the Holy Alliance, which made the following declaration:

"The high contracting parties, well convinced that the system of representative government is as incompatible with the monarchical principle as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people is opposed to the principle of divine right, engage in the most solemn manner to employ all their means and unite all their efforts to put an end to

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the system of representative government wherever it is known to exist in the states of Europe and to prevent it from being introduced into those states where it is not known."

While this declaration referred to the states of Europe, its important effect would be upon the countries of this hemisphere; and the King of Spain directly demanded support from the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance to maintain the principles of the Holy Alliance on this hemisphere. In 1823, therefore, President Monroe, after careful conference with the two great living revolutionary statesmen, formulated the message that has become a fundamental principle of our government in its dealings with the foreign governments of the world.

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II

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

"The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Gov-

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ernments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. . . .

"Our policy in regard to Europe—which was adopted at an early stage of the wars that have so long agitated that quarter of the globe—nevertheless remains the same, which is: not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve these relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S INTERPRETATION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

"We must recognize the fact that in some South American countries there has been much suspicion lest we should interpret the Monroe Doctrine as in some way

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inimical to their interests, and we must try to convince all the other nations of the continent—once and for all—that no just and orderly government has anything to fear from us.

"There are certain republics to the south of us which have already reached such a point of stability, order, and prosperity, that they themselves, though as yet hardly consciously, are among the guarantors of this Doctrine. These republics we now meet not only on a basis of entire equality, but in a spirit of frank and respectful friendship, which we hope is mutual. If all the republics to the south of us will not only grow as those to which I allude have already grown, all need for us to be the especial champions of the Doctrine will disappear; for no stable and growing American republic wishes to see some great non-American military power acquire territory in its neighborhood. All that this country desires is that the other republics on the continent shall be happy and prosperous; and they cannot be happy and prosperous unless they maintain order within their boundaries and behave with a just regard for their obligations toward outsiders.

"It must be understood that under no circumstances will the United States use the Monroe Doctrine as a cloak for territorial aggression. We desire peace with all the world, but perhaps most of all with the other peoples of the American continent. There are of course limits to the wrongs which any self-respecting nation can endure. It is always possible that wrong actions toward this nation, or toward citizens of this nation, in some state unable to keep order among its own people, unable to secure justice from outsiders, and unwilling to do justice to those outsiders who treat it well, may result in

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our having to take action to protect our rights; but such action will not be taken with a view to territorial aggression, and it will be taken at all only with extreme reluctance and when it has become evident that every other resource has been exhausted.

THE LODGE RESOLUTION

"*Resolved,* That when any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see, without grave concern, the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government, not American, as to give that Government practical power of control for national purposes."

The Lodge Resolution was not approved by the President, but it was passed by an overwhelming vote, which showed the sentiment of the American people as to its provisions; and it is accepted as the Doctrine of the United States founded upon the preservation of the safety of our country.

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III

THE FUNCTION OF THE DOCTRINE

That the Monroe Doctrine made its apparent advent in the history of nations so late as the time of the President whose name it bears has, to a certain extent, diminished its importance as a part of the fundamental and international life in the thought of the nations of the world. While this doctrine did not form part of the written law of this country, still it originated in the very life of the American Republic, and is not, as a matter of truth, the doctrine of President Monroe but rather the doctrine that was part of the actual life of this republic in its inception. It was enunciated as a foundation proposition of our government by Washington, was interpreted and insisted upon as part of our fundamental life by Jefferson, and finally, upon the historic occasion, established as the Monroe Doctrine.

Writers are fond of frequently repeating the statement that the Monroe Doctrine is not part of the international code, but that it is merely a pol-

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icy of this government and only so understood in the law of nations. While this may be the thought among other nations, the Monroe Doctrine is as absolutely part of the life of this republic, in its dealings with the nations of the world, as any doctrine of international law expressed and published as such by the nations of the world. It is fundamentally the Doctrine of the greatest and most powerful nation on earth, and so understood to be a primary doctrine by the hundred millions of people forming the great western republic. If it is not technically part of the code of international law, it is the belief of our people that it forms an essential part of the structure of our national life. Secretary Foster stated:

"It has been said that the Monroe Doctrine has no binding authority; first, because it has not been admitted into the code of international law; and, second, because it has never been adopted or declared by Congress. In reply, it may be said that the principle which underlies the Monroe Doctrine—the right of self-defense, the preservation of the peace and safety of the nation—is recognized as an elementary part of international law. . . . It stands to-day as a cardinal policy of our government."

While this doctrine may be a policy and not a part of the technical code of international law, it has for one hundred years held the hands of the

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mightiest nations on earth, nations that have recognized its potency equally with the recognition which they have extended to any principle of international law. The law of self-preservation is the most fundamental and absolute of all the laws of nations. The Monroe Doctrine is the one vital doctrine, which in our intercourse with other nations most vitally controls "our peace and happiness" and "our peace and safety." It is idle for any authority to contend that a principle so vital as this does not have the real potency and effect of international law. Throughout the discussions by the fathers and by those who latterly placed the doctrine in active effect, the one continuing thread runs, that underlying this doctrine are "the peace and safety" and "the peace and happiness" of the American nation.

This doctrine was at first, in one sense of the word, a negative proposition. Its primal idea was non-action on the part of the United States, unless foreign governments attempted to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere. With the life of the world it has changed, not in its fundamental idea, for it is founded upon the preservation of the safety and peace of this republic, but to a certain extent the change has come with the altered condition of the times and the

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surroundings of the life of this hemisphere. Time has made it an affirmative doctrine on our part, a doctrine that will, in a way, compel action on the part of our government, even before direct interference with our hemisphere by foreign governments has come about. The peace and safety of the republic, which was the underlying idea of the Monroe Doctrine, will demand that this country must affirmatively protect itself against the condition brought about by the governments of our hemisphere. In other words, with the change of circumstances and the surroundings of our life this doctrine has in a way taken the form that will compel action on our part to prevent a condition which is ultimately liable to bring about interference with our peace and safety.

In this discussion we found our argument upon the Monroe Doctrine, both in its original and its later construction. We believe, as a cardinal principle of its application, that independence is fundamental. To differ with another country in its ideas of government will form no reason why we should deprive that country of its governmental life and existence. We concede that because of the difference in thought, as to governmental policy, we should not interfere with any government nor establish over any government a

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suzerainty or control. We do not contend that the Monroe Doctrine applies to a country, unless the acts of that country interfere with the doctrine in our interpretation of its principles as to control by European nations, or unless it interferes with the preservation of our peace and safety, or unless it commits a breach of international law.

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IV

HAITI'S RELATION TO OUR GOVERNMENT

The question of the condition of the Republic of Haiti is one so urgent, is, indeed, a question that so earnestly demands that the people of our country should possess the fullest information as to its condition, that no apologies are needed for a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine as it applies to this important strategic island lying practically at our door and commanding the greatest avenues of our commerce.

Next to Mexico this island republic is fraught with the greatest importance to the United States in our relation to the Southern and Central American republics, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean Sea. Let us then, as briefly as possible, discuss the conditions obtaining in Haiti and gain an idea of its important relation to our government.

The island of Hispaniola, containing Haiti and San Domingo, includes about 28,250 square miles, of which 10,200 square miles are com-

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prised in the Republic of Haiti. The island is about the size of the combined States of Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Next to Cuba, it is the most important strategical point in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. It is directly on and commands the two great passages of the Atlantic Ocean into the Caribbean Sea from the eastern coast of the United States to and from the Panama Canal. It thus practically controls the great bulk of the commerce of the United States to the East and the Pacific Ocean.

This island has within its shores more natural wealth than has any other territory of similar size in the world. By reason of its rich valleys and splendid mountains it has every temperature known to man. All tropical plants and trees, as well as the vegetables and fruits of the temperate climes, grow there in perfection. The best coffee known to commerce grows wild, without planting or cultivation. Sugar cane, indigo, bread fruit, melons, mangoes, oranges, apples, grapes, mulberries, and figs all grow with little labor or care. Mahogany, manchineel, satinwood, rosewood, cinnamon-wood, logwood, the pine, the oak, the cypress, and the palmetto grow in rich profusion in its splendid soil. Here are the best dyestuffs

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known to commerce, and in the earth are silver, gold, copper, lead, iron, gypsum, and sulphur. We hazard the statement that this island is more capable of supporting life in all its phases, more able to create wealth and diffuse happiness to its people, than any other land of its size on the face of the earth. Its harbors are incomparable, and will float the navies of the world. Its atmosphere is salubrious and its climate healthy. It is a natural paradise, and the description of its beauty and resources by Columbus is as true to-day as it was more than four hundred years ago. He wrote:

"In it there are many havens on the seacoast, incomparable with any others I know in Christendom, and plenty of rivers, so good and great that it is a marvel. The lands there are high, and in it are very many ranges of hills and most lofty mountains incomparably beyond the Island of Centrefei (or Teneriffe); all most beautiful in a thousand shapes and all accessible, and full of trees of a thousand kinds, so lofty that they seem to reach the sky. And I am assured that they never lose their foliage, as may be imagined, since I saw them, as green and as beautiful as they are in Spain in May and some of them were in flower, some in fruit, some in another stage, according to their kind. And the nightingale was singing, and other birds of a thousand sorts, in the month of November, round about the way I was going. There are palm trees of six or eight species, wondrous to see for

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their beautiful variety; but so are the other trees and fruits and plants therein. There are wonderful pine groves and very large plants of verdure, and there are honey and many kinds of birds, and many mines in the earth; and there is a population of incalculable number. Espanola is a marvel; the mountains and hills, and plains, and fields, and the soil, so beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for breeding cattle of all sorts, for building of towns and villages. There could be no believing, without seeing, such harbors as are here, as well as the many and great rivers and excellent waters, most of which contain gold. In the trees and fruits and plants, there are greater diversities from those of Juana (Cuba). In this there are many spiceries and great mines of gold and other metals. The people of this island and all others that I have seen, or not seen, all go naked, men and women, just as their mothers bring them forth."

The seas that are to-day, actually and prospectively, most important to mankind are the Mediterranean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean Sea. In their importance these seas have waxed and waned as have all other lands and seas of the globe. While the Mediterranean has been important throughout history as a part of the chain of communication to the East, it is probably at the present time more vital than ever, for it commands the Suez Canal and is virtually a part of the Suez route. The two great twin seas, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, are, if

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possible, more important than the Mediterranean in their effect upon the commerce of the world. From their position they will be more world-wide in their direct influence upon commerce than the Mediterranean, because these two seas will embrace a greater part of the world.

It should be a fundamental principle of the United States that we should control the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. This control should be absolute and exclusive. The ultimate realization of this postulate may be far in the future, but the principle should be carried out as persistently as Russia and Germany have pursued the thought of an open sea. While the ultimate thought of our country is toward peace, still the developing world-conditions compel us to prepare for the dominance of the seas that are absolutely necessary to our future security. The control of these great seas, which cut our shore line in twain and which control our greatest river and the heart of our greatest population, is as essential to the peace and safety of this country as is the control of the British Channel or the Red Sea to Great Britain, or that of the Adriatic to Austria and Italy.

The peace and safety of our country further demand that the countries bordering on the Car-

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ibbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico should not be able by whim, self-interest, or lawlessness, to interfere with this nation. The conditions surrounding this country demand that our spheres of influence on this continent should be as absolutely delimited and settled as is the establishment of that principle in Europe. While it is possible easily to settle this principle, it should be done; and as rapidly as is consistent with justice and right the bringing about of the situation that will absolutely secure our control of these great seas should be inaugurated.

The events of the day show how causelessly a great war may arise and of what deadly importance to a great nation may be a small island or an obscure country. The construction of the Canal has emphasized our duty along the lines of this basic idea, and this principle has been practically made part of our treaty obligations in an agreement for the preservation of order in the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the surrounding and adjacent countries.

In the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty we contract that "The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules"; and we further agree that "The canal shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right

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of war be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within it. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder."

It is idle to believe that these solemn and important obligations can be brought to fruition while the condition of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea remains as it is to-day and while the present status of irresponsibility controls these seas. These seas and islands and the lands bordering on them are a part of the Panama Zone and while their ability to cast this important ocean of the Western Hemisphere into political, social, and mercantile chaos remains, our solemn guarantees and treaties to preserve the canal are but as waste paper. The control of the Panama Canal makes the United States a trustee for civilization, and to carry out our treaties it is necessary that we dominate these seas; and we should be able by fair treaty, or by fairly granted rights, to preserve the peace and safety of that portion of this continent.

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V

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF HAITI

It is necessary to our subject briefly to discuss the location of Haiti, not only as to its trade position but as to its strategical situation. In the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea there are five great strategical positions: the mouth of the Canal, the mouth of the Mississippi, Cuba, Haiti, and Jamaica. The mouth of the Mississippi necessarily will command the great central valley of the United States, and here will be one of the great positions in the trade of the world. From the mouth of the Mississippi to Colon our commerce will have a straight course, passing Cape Catoche, the outermost point of Yucatan, and Cape Gracias à Dios on the Mosquito Coast. This route will pass the island of Mujeres, which is not important, but will be within easy striking distance of the great island of Jamaica, owned by Great Britain.

The island of Cuba is the great controlling strategical influence in the Caribbean Sea and the

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Gulf of Mexico. It lies across the route from North America, and largely commands the route from the mouth of the Mississippi to the eastern opening of the Canal. It controls the passage from the Gulf of Mexico into the Caribbean Sea through the Yucatan Channel, and into the Gulf of Mexico from the Atlantic by the Florida straits.

Second to Cuba in strategical importance is the Island of Haiti and San Domingo.

The two great routes from North America to the mouth of the Canal are: first, the route by the Windward Passage, between the Island of Cuba and the Island of Haiti; second, the route by the Mona Passage, between the Island of Haiti and the Island of Puerto Rico. This latter passage will be chiefly used by the sailing vessels going to and from the Canal to the eastern portion of North America. Every ship sailing from New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Canada, Baltimore, Newport News, in short, from the eastern coast of North America, on their journeys to the infinite world of commerce will be compelled to pass by the Island of Haiti, either through the Windward Passage or the Mona Passage, and all vessels to Great Britain and the northern part of Europe must use the Mona Passage by the eastern coast of Haiti.

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The other important passage to the mouth of the Canal is the Anegada Passage by the Island of Saint Thomas and Puerto Rico, within easy striking distance of Haiti. This will be the route used from the Isthmus to the Mediterranean and Central Europe. Concisely speaking, the world of commerce to and from the Canal will pass along one coast or the other of the Island of Haiti and San Domingo, or within easy striking distance of its shores.

This world-wide commerce, in case of stress and storm on its voyage to the commercial world, must utilize this great island in the necessities of sea life; for Haiti is the first great harboring place on the way to the Canal, and on the return it is the last stopping place. It will be as necessary to the commerce of this country as Malta or Aden or Gibraltar are to the Suez route. It lies athwart the greatest commerce that will cleave the seas.

In the present governmental condition of Haiti, and with its relation to this country, the island of Jamaica will be supremely important from a strategical standpoint, if controlled or held by an unfriendly power, and it could cripple our commerce passing through the Windward, Anegada, or the Mona Passage. With the friendly influ-

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ence of Cuba and Haiti the commerce of the United States would have a tremendous advantage in case of war, or in the event of unfriendliness on the part of any nation, even if Jamaica were held by an unfriendly power.

It is usual to speak of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico as the American Seas, and to consider them as part of our life and practically within the control of this nation. It is necessary that we should glance at these great seas and appreciate how they and the Canal are hemmed in by islands, which would become a menace to our commerce in case of war or hostility on the part of the nations of Europe.

First in importance is the island of Jamaica, owned by Great Britain, which is practically at the mouth of the Canal. Of almost equal importance is the island of Curaçao, belonging to Holland, which, in the hands of an unfriendly power, would be disastrous in its effect upon the commerce of the Canal. To the east and within striking distance are Martinique, in the hands of France; Santa Lucia, owned by England; St. Thomas, owned by Denmark; the Bahamas and the Bermudas, in the hands of England, and Cuba and Haiti, in independent control, neither of which last two could be utilized by the United

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States in case of conflict with the other nations of the world. Thus we see that the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea are encompassed by islands in the control of the two great nations of the world, France and England, and by two great islands, Haiti and Cuba, which are strategically so situated that they could largely control the commerce of practically half of the world. In these waters the United States, to which this commerce is supremely vital, controls with the exception of the harbor of Guantanamo in Cuba only the relatively insignificant island of Puerto Rico. Beyond these unimportant exceptions, the United States has no right to fortify any of the islands, nor could this country use them as bases from which to protect our commerce and our rights in the Canal.

From the present unrest in Europe, great eventualities, which will especially affect the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, will surely arise. Here must be the vital center of the life of the government of the United States. The greatly coveted, sparsely settled, rich, undeveloped and weakly governed portions of the earth are South America and Central America. In the Caribbean Sea is the Canal, the key to the world's commerce for our country, and the connecting link between

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our eastern and western shores. The control of this sea by our government is as fundamental and as inexorable as the preservation of the rights of the States, or of our form of free government. To-day, because of present conditions, our country has in that important region the advantage military and commercial. With the advent of new forces our access to the Canal may be destroyed and the control of that vital seat of commerce may fall into the hands of a combination of nations opposed to the interests of the United States. The present situation of rest in the Caribbean Sea can no longer continue. To think that it will is folly.

In case of German supremacy in the great contest of which the first declaration has just been heard, the colonial dependencies of France will surely fall into German hands, and the strategic islands of the Caribbean Sea will be held by the most earth hungering of the nations of Europe. If, in the complications of the inevitable war, England is successful, it will mean with her a new era, and it will do away with the old condition of rest and quiet which has surrounded her West Indian dependencies.

Under the present conditions an alliance of two European nations can close the mouth of the Ca-

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nal, and can practically dominate the Caribbean Sea. In the opinion of thoughtful men the great vital and living proposition for us is that the United States should control, militarily and commercially, the Caribbean Sea and the access to the Panama Canal. Every step in that direction is one of wisdom and demanded by the most primary considerations of commercial and military necessity.

With the change brought about by the present conditions in Europe considerations of commercial and military policy will surely demand that the European nations will fortify their dependencies in the Caribbean Sea, and the most fundamental considerations of safety demand that we shall take every step looking to the finality which will give to this government as complete control of military and commercial conditions in the Caribbean Sea as can be wrought by energy and foresight.

The Canal, closely held in our hands, will be a source of incalculable strength. Dominated by a European nation, or an alliance of European nations, it will be to us commercial and military destruction. We believe that this statement is fundamental.

Let us consider the governmental and social condition of the Republic of Haiti, so importantly

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located as it is, and the probability of its becoming a menace to the fundamental principles of the Monroe Doctrine. It is important for us to see if it offends against the peace and safety of this country. No one cares to indict a whole people; but the question of the future of this island in its relations to this republic is one of deep and abiding importance to Americans.

This island is practically part of the shore line of our republic, and is in control of the avenues of our greatest routes of commerce to the world, and lies at the mouth of the Canal, which has cost us untold sums of money. Through its great passages will flow the bulk of our commerce to the East, and a question for consideration for the American people is whether or not this commerce should oftentimes be placed in the control of a government continuously engaged in internecine war, revolution, and insurrection and sunk in religious and governmental degeneracy. It is vital to the United States to determine whether the condition of this island, so important to us, will ultimately lead to interference on the part of European nations or compel us, in order to preserve the peace and safety of our country, to provide, by some means, that its present condition be changed, and that instead of being a menace to

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our republic it may become a blessing to the world and a protection to a commerce that will be the greatest witnessed since the keels of mankind's ships began to cleave the water in their quest for knowledge and riches throughout the world.

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VI

HAITI'S GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

Let us, as briefly as may be, give the condition of this island as set out by those who have visited its shores and who are conversant with its conditions. That which shows the real life of a nation is its governmental policy and its religious ideals. To these two propositions I invite your attention.

A short discussion of the history of the island is necessary to explain the underlying reasons for its economic and governmental conditions.

At the time that Hispaniola was discovered by Columbus, in 1492, it was inhabited by two million natives. By reason of the rapacity and cruelty of the Spaniards the natives were soon exterminated, and as early as 1512 slaves were imported from Africa. The descendants of those slaves now control the Republic of Haiti.

Sugar, which was introduced into the island in 1506, soon began to be the great staple. In 1650 the buccaneers became formidable, and in 1697

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the part of the island controlled by them was ceded to France.

At the time of the French Revolution the population was composed of relatively few whites, the ruling class, some mulattoes, and a vast majority of negro slaves. Under the control of the French, Haiti became the seat of a luxury almost unparalleled, and furnished an enormous commerce to the civilized world.

The mulattoes demanded civil rights, and with the wave of freedom and liberty that broke over France, they were in 1791 granted the privileges of French citizenship by the National Convention. The whites demanded that the decree be revoked, which was done; but in 1791 the slaves engaged in an insurrection in which they were assisted by the mulattoes. In 1793 the French abolished slavery. This, however, had no effect upon the situation.

During the war with England, which occurred at this time, the slaves had rendered great assistance to the French in defeating the English. In 1801 Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro, obtained military control, and proclaimed a constitutional government. He was deceived by General Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Bonaparte, and was taken to France, where he died.

This again brought on an insurrection by the

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negroes; and under Jean Jacques Dessalines they renewed the conflict in its most horrible forms. In 1803 the French abandoned the island. Dessalines massacred all the whites, promulgated the Declaration of Independence in 1804, and, after he had proclaimed himself emperor in 1806, was assassinated.

After this came the dreadful contest between Christophe and Petion for the control of the whole island, and the horrible conflicts between Haiti and San Domingo continued, with varying success. In 1844 the Spanish portion of the island asserted its independence of Haiti, and the Republic of San Domingo was established. Since that time the two political divisions of the island have continued.

Then followed succession after succession of negro presidents and fierce dictators, but all under the theory and practice of complete control of the government and property by the negro.

Here is the distinguishing difference between San Domingo and Haiti, which is not generally understood.

The great development of the French portion of the island, which at the time of the French Revolution was supplying half of Europe with

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sugar, coffee, and indigo, had demanded an enormous proportion of slave population to carry on this work, and this majority of the slave population, after the weakening of the French influence and the evacuation of the island by that nation, was able absolutely to control the island and to direct its destiny. The whites and the mulattoes, wherever found, were ruthlessly massacred by the negro and their influence was practically destroyed.

In San Domingo there had been no such demand for slave labor, and the whites and the mulattoes held political and economical supremacy. These two classes have largely maintained themselves in that portion of the island.

The situation was totally different in Haiti. From the first slave insurrection until to-day the supreme effort of the large negro population has been to annihilate the mulattoes and the whites, and the mulattoes are now a small and unimportant part of the population of Haiti. The mulattoes' political power has gone along with their prestige, while that of the whites, as a political factor, has been destroyed by law, and only a few, by special permit, are engaged in trade and agriculture and in operating a few concessions in the island.

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Under the rule of Boyer, the negro republic controlled San Domingo and showed the same fear and detestation of everything white or European that had appeared in Haiti. The steady fear of the Haitians of everything European led them to destroy the lives of the mulattoes and the white men wherever they were found, and in addition they destroyed the culture, laws, and works of the men who had made the island of Haiti at the time of the French Revolution the richest possession, excepting Java, on the globe.

This continuing fear of all that was white and civilized reached its supreme illustration in the building by the tyrant, Christophe, of the enormous fortress at La Ferrière. There, on the top of a lonely mountain, miles away from any town or city, at the cost of thirty thousand lives and fifteen millions of dollars, this monster in human form constructed one of the most stupendous fortresses ever reared by human hands. His object in doing this was to protect himself against the white man, who, he feared, would surely come and replace the black's barbarous methods with the rule of civilization. It stands there to-day with giant walls one hundred feet high, filled with four hundred cannons, its broken walls and roofless

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towers attesting to the system which, under negro rule, has destroyed this beautiful island.

Since the evacuation by the French, Haiti has been a land of revolution, despotism, and crime against religious authority and governmental law. With the forms of a free government, it has been a despotism unrivaled in its disregard for human rights. A general of a department, with a ragged army of banditti behind him, who by blood and rapine seizes control of the government, often without the pretense of the forms of an election, has generally furnished the horrid phantasmagoria which, since the French evacuation, has posed in the Haitian Republic as free government.

"Founded as it is upon force, with the strongest man at the head, nominally as president, but in reality a dictator, the Black Republic cannot endure another century as it is going now, without calling to it the attention of the world, and exciting its strongest reprobation. It is the desire of more than one government that the United States should take this irresponsible island republic in hand and administer to it a salutary lesson. Nothing short of extermination, some aver, could effect a reform in the Haitian body politic; but as this age does not tolerate the radical measures of the olden time it is not probable that the present generation will experience a reformation. Sir Spencer St. John, who was formerly the English Minister-Resident in Haiti, and who wrote an exhaustive account

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of the doings in the Black Republic, says, of it, among other things not complimentary: 'No country possesses greater capabilities, or a better geographical position, or more varied soil, climate, or production, with magnificent scenery of every description; and yet it is now the country to be avoided, ruined as it has been by a succession of self-seeking politicians, without honesty or patriotism.' "—OBER, "The Wake of Columbus."

"The island being thus derelict, Spain and England both tried their hand to recover it, but failed from the same cause, and a black nation, with a republican constitution and a population perhaps of about a million and a half of pure-blooded negroes, has since been in unchallenged possession, and has arrived at the condition which has been described to us by Sir Spencer St. John. Republics which begin with murder and plunder do not come to much good in this world. Haiti has passed through many revolutions, and is no nearer than at first to stability. The present president, M. Salomon, who was long a refugee in Jamaica, came into power a few days back by a turn of the wheel. He was described to me as a peremptory gentleman who made quick work with his political opponents. His term of office having nearly expired, he had reëlected himself shortly before another seven years and was prepared to maintain his right by any measures which he might think expedient. He had a few regiments of soldiers, who, I was told, were devoted to him, and a fleet consisting of two gunboats commanded by an American officer to whom he chiefly owed his security."—FROUDE, "The English in the West Indies."

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Says Rear-Admiral Colby M. Chester, U. S. Navy, a most careful and distinguished observer, in "Haiti: A Degenerating Island":

"It is not possible within the limits of this paper to go into details regarding the turbulent history of Haiti. The fact that of its twenty-one rulers—from Dessalines to the one now holding power—four only have completed their terms of office, the most of them being driven out of the country, will show the general tendency of the people to revolution. History is here constantly repeating itself, summed up in the general statement that the 'outs' are always struggling to get into power, while the 'ins' are striving to retain possession of the spoils of office.

"It is said that Haiti is getting blacker and blacker, the white element having been practically exterminated or removed from the island. . . .

"In all its political history, Haiti, the beautiful, has been torn almost to shreds by its turbulent inhabitants, led on by a few aspiring chiefs, who rarely have had any other object in view than personal gain."

"Of course, if Haiti were a true republic the people would have an opportunity to correct the abuses from which they suffer by exercising the manhood franchise to which, under the constitution, they are entitled, but, of all farces and travesties of popular institutions which are so prevalent in the Black Republic, that of the so-called popular elections is the most flagrant. Elections to the chamber are held or not held, not as prescribed by law and at the proper intervals, but simply when and how it

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may suit the personal convenience and private profit of the supreme military chief of the day. If he can secure more money in bribes from the deputies already assembled and in session than is offered by those desirous of legislative honors and opportunities for corruption, then the old chamber remains on indefinitely. If the new men offer to the military chief a sufficiently substantial inducement, the legislature in being is dismissed, although it may have enjoyed only a month of life, and new elections offered."—BONSAL, "The American Mediterranean."

Again says Bonsal:

"In the winter of 1907-08, when twenty-two of the adherents of Dr. Firmin fell into the hands of the administration general at St. Marc, that officer walked them out to the nearest cemetery, and after they had dug a trench deep enough to hold their bodies, had them shot and buried. He then reported to his commander-in-chief, President Nord Alexis, the occurrence textually as follows:

" 'Feeling confident that my *procès verbal* of the affair, which I shall have drawn up at the earliest possible moment, would meet with your excellency's approval, to save time, I have executed the twenty-two prisoners—provisionally.' This butcher never received a word of censure, but, on the contrary, was promoted by his chief."

The first effort of a revolutionist is to obtain possession of the custom house, so as to provide the sinews of war and to obtain perquisites for

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those in charge of the revolution. Then ensues a massacre of those who followed the unsuccessful aspirant for the presidency.

"At its head is a president assisted by two chambers, the members of which are elected and hold office under a constitution of 1889. This constitution, thoroughly republican in form, is French in origin, as are also the laws, language, traditions and customs in Haiti. In practice, however, the government resolves itself into a military despotism, the power being concentrated in the hands of a president. The Haitians seem to possess everything that a progressive and civilized nation can desire, but corruption is spread through every portion and branch of the government. Justice is venal, and the police are brutal and inefficient."—*Encyclopedia Britannica.*

"But the same causes which tended then to demoralize the country and unsettle its people are those that render it a hotbed of revolution to-day. The bankruptcy of its treasury, the ambition of aspiring chiefs, the hatred of disappointed ones, and the want of any regular system of commerce and agriculture, with the incubus of an army living in idleness and eating up the substance of the land, must have their effect."—HAZARD, "San Domingo and Haiti."

"Official peculation, judicial murder, and utter corruption of every kind underlie the forms and titles of civilized government; the religion, nominally Christian, is largely vaudoux or serpent-worship, in which actual and horrible

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cannibalism is even now a most important element. Instead of progressing, the negro republicans have gone back to the lowest type of African barbarism."—*Chambers Encyclopedia.*

"A land of continuous revolution."—*Encyclopedia Britannica.*

The written and ostensible form of government of the Republic of Haiti is modeled in a general manner after that of our republic. The government is divided into three branches, legislative, executive, and judicial. The national legislature is composed of two chambers: a Senate and a House of Representatives. According to the Constitution, the members of the Chamber of Representatives are elected by the people for a term of three years. The Senate is chosen for a term of six years by the representatives from a list furnished by a Board of Electors and the President of the Republic. The President of the Republic is elected by the National Assembly for a term of seven years. He has a cabinet, each member of which has charge of the duties pertaining to his department, and these departments are modeled along the lines of those of the United States.

The Chamber of Representatives, when the pretense of an election is carried out, is really re-

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turned by the President. Those desiring an election to the Chamber of Representatives make their arrangements with the President of the Republic, or the President, if he desires certain men returned, has the general in charge of the district, who is an appointee of the President, return them as a matter of course. In the majority of cases these names are returned by the general without even the pretense of an election. The returns are absolutely in the control of the President and of the twelve thousand ragged banditti who constitute the army, men who are entirely dependent upon him. It is a military despotism pure and simple, founded upon greed and desire of power; and there is scarcely any pretense of a free election or a free government.

The republic is divided into five departments, which in turn are subdivided, and all the executive officers of these departments are appointed by the President of the Republic and are under his absolute control. The taxes are farmed out for the benefit of the President and the clique that surrounds him; and while no general taxes are imposed by the Constitution, still, as a matter of fact, every one who has any occupation or property is compelled to pay a percentage, either to the President or to the ring that controls public affairs.

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From the highest office to the lowest there exists a condition of imposition and public dishonesty. The legal taxes arise from the import and export duties at the custom houses, and the custom house is the chief object of possession on the part of those desiring to control the government of the republic.

A system of unparalleled corruption and self-interest controls this institution, and it is freely used to provide the requisites for the needs of the ever-ready revolution. The wickedest abuses prevail in the administration of the custom houses, and foreign firms are the chief sufferers in this direction. They are compelled to pay whatever is required by the President and his satellites, without regard to justice.

The island is harried by the governors of the departments and by the officials of the districts into which the departments are divided. The most flagrant outrages are committed upon the people. The army of twelve thousand is the ready instrument for this work, and it is used relentlessly by the officials for the purpose of hounding the people, preying upon every man, whether he be a poor peasant planting a banana patch or a foreigner attempting to work the terms of a concession. This system has destroyed the hope and

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the welfare of the people, and the citizens are terrorized to an extent rarely known elsewhere.

The President and his satellites have absolute control of the treasury, and the largest amount of the debt of this devoted island has been made by its rulers at ruinous interest and at reckless sacrifice of the rights of the people. A loan is made, out of which the President and the horde around him exact an enormous part, and the burden is saddled upon the people. The money is used to carry on the ever-present revolution, or is employed to support the greedy horde of extortionists surrounding the President and his so-called government.

Men, without pretense of law, are drafted into the army and are compelled to fight, and in the revolutions that are ever recurrent most inhuman atrocities are perpetrated. These revolutions are bloody affairs without pretense of control by the rules of civilized warfare; and by reason of them a vast number of the people are impoverished to the extent of starvation, which exists in a land that smiles under a bright sky, amid cooling winds, and blessed with the most fertile soil in the world.

While all this is true, the forms of justice are in full effect. The republic has a Supreme Court, and there is also a Court of Appeals in each dis-

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trict. The whole paraphernalia of the courts is under the control of the President, and those who dispense justice dispense it according to his desires and under his commands. He has the sole power of appointment and removal.

That the course of justice has a hard road to travel is readily understood when it is known that every department is presided over by a general, appointed by the President, and that he is held responsible for whatever taxes are collected, for the control of the courts, and for the absolute acquiescence of every department in the will of the President.

The governor of the department, who is a military chief, has absolute control of the life of his district. He is paid a nominal sum, yet he is expected to maintain at least a fifth part of the army needed by the President to sustain his authority. His expenses are hundreds of times the amount of money he legally receives, and it is his duty on a salary of a few dollars each month to bring to the standard of the President from five hundred to two thousand soldiers, equipped to carry on the saturnalia of bloodshed and carnage.

There is but one way that this can be effectively done, and that is by a system of rapine, a system by which the people are harried to supply the sol-

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diery and the expense needed for their sustenance and equipment. Not only is the money necessary for this equipment exacted from the people, but with it the general of the department seizes a sufficiency to support him in licentious plenty. This system of wrong-doing compels the peasant to secrete his banana patch in some fastness of the mountain, or to raise his little crop where the rapacious eyes of the marauders about the general will not fall upon it. The inevitable result is a reign of terror, destruction of agriculture, and the complete paralysis of trade.

This system has brought about a condition scarcely equaled anywhere in the world, because this is not a reign of terror that builds a great system of government upon the ruins of the people; for here, while the people are destroyed, they receive no compensation in the splendor or permanency of their government. There is no escape from this condition, for the reason that the military system, in the hands of the bloodthirsty rulers, is too strong, and the long permanence of the reign of terror has had its inevitable effect upon the life and the spirit of the people.

The general of the department keeps around him at all times a horde of marauders, attached to him in the interest of plunder. When the Presi-

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dent desires troops, the order is sent to the general for the number needed by the President, and the citizen is taken from his farm or his shop, his family is left to starve, and he is taken to the city where the troops are being collected, and, half naked and half starved, is thrown into a stockade, or he is actually bound, and, under an armed guard, is put into the ranks and compelled to fight. If he despair and refuse to do as told, he is shot down like a beast of the field and interred in a shallow grave by the roadside.

Thus, throughout the whole of the island the terror-stricken people are unable to carry on any trade, nor can they pursue any calling necessary for their sustenance. Under their system no foreigner can hold land. The whole government is in the hands of the blacks, and the provision, by which a white man can do business, hold land, and in a manner enjoy the rights of citizenship by the marriage of a black wife, has been done away with, and the absolute control of all the property in the island is in the hands of the negroes.

A fair illustration of the system of election is exemplified by the election of Nord Alexis in 1902. Being in control of the government forces and not having been known as an aspirant for the presidency, upon the assembling of the national assem-

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bly Alexis demanded that he should be elected President. To his repeated demands the national assembly paid little attention. On the eve of his so-called election his troops in the field surrounded the palace, falling into firing groups. In the palace preparations for a banquet were in progress. Entering the national assembly, he notified it that its members could elect him President and go to the banquet, or face the firing squads being formed in the yard. He was elected by acclamation.

This is but one of hundreds of illustrations of the hollow pretense of free government in this island. An election means but a revolution flowing with blood. The government is a despotism pure and simple, a despotism that fattens upon the blood of an ignorant people, and is only a horrid pretense of free government. Read this record of its unstable and gory governmental life:

1804. Dessalines crowned as emperor.
1806. He is assassinated; war between Haiti and San Domingo.
1807. Christophe becomes king under title of Henry the First; war.
1811. Petion president of southern part; civil war.

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1820. Boyer declared regent for life; after tremendous insurrection and flow of blood Christophe commits suicide.
1843. Boyer deposed and exiled after revolution.
1844. Rivirere exiled after one year; war.
1845. Guerrier in office one year.
1845. Pierror abdicated.
1846. Riche proclaimed president; died in one year.
1847. Soloque declared emperor after many wars and much bloodshed; exiled in 1859.
1858-59. Geffrard president until 1867; then exiled.
1856-57. Dreadful revolution wherein Salnave revolts, takes refugees from British consulates, and kills them; English ship drives them out and helps Geffrard; Geffrard banished, Salnave made president, with a new constitution; revolt suppressed amid torrents of blood.
1868-70. Continual revolution; Salnave massacres his enemies; proclaims himself emperor, is finally defeated and shot.
1870-74. Nissage Saget; completed his four years.

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1874. Domingue seized the government, and after bloody revolution exiled in 1876.

1876. Canal, after bloody revolution, seizes power; after many revolutions he is expelled in 1879.

1879. Salomon elected; reëlected 1886.

1888. Salomon deposed and exiled; civil war between Hipolyte and Legitime; Legitime placed in office for one year and exiled.

1889-96. Hipolyte, after many insurrections, died in office; supposed to have been poisoned.

1896. Simon Sam president; trouble with Germany; numerous disorders until 1899.

1900. Sam takes all the funds and leaves the country.

1902. General Nord Alexis proclaimed president.

1908. Nord Alexis retired by revolution; Powers sent warships to stop massacre.

1911. Cincinnatus Le Conte proclaimed president; killed in 1912.

1912. Tancrede Auguste appointed president; killed in May, 1913.

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1913. Michael Orresti proclaimed president; was retired by revolution January 27, 1914.

1914. Orresti Zamor assumed the presidency February 8, 1914, and at last accounts was still alive.

By this chronology it will be seen that the constitutional office for a president in Haiti is seven years, and President Salomon, who held office from 1879 to 1886, is apparently the only Haitian president to fill out his term of office. He was killed, however, within two years after his reëlection for a second term in 1886.

A writer, one who occupies a high position in the Haitian government, has lately put forth a masterpiece of special pleading in defense of his government. Any defense of this kind is idle. Within a month it has reeked with blood under the throes of one of its almost continuous revolutions. Our government has been again compelled to intervene and save the lives of many of the parties engaged in this internecine war. A number of times, by reason of this situation, war has been almost precipitated between the Haitian government and the European nations, and the warships of Great Britain, France, and Germany are only

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too frequent in the harbors of Haiti, protecting their subjects, demanding redress of grievances, and saving human life. Sooner or later the irresponsible government of the Republic of Haiti will commit the act that will involve us under the first clause and original application of the Monroe Doctrine. If it were not for the Monroe Doctrine, backed by the strong hands of this government, this island to-day would be under the control of a European nation.

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VII

MORAL CONDITIONS IN HAITI

Let us pursue this investigation and further consider the moral and religious condition of Haiti.

Religion is but a pretense. The worship of the green snake and the control of the voodoo are everywhere prevalent. The island has degenerated from its once high estate, and there is no pretense but what the Papaloi and the Mamaloi are as potent as any of the figures in its life. It seems to be true, that on any night the horrid rites of the voodoo can be witnessed in the heart of the capital of Haiti, surrounded by the soldiers in the uniform of the Haitian government. In the book mentioned this statement is denied, and the assertion is made that Haiti has been slandered by the book writers and the magazine makers, by "unscrupulous writers and travelers." This assertion is unbelievable. I do not quote Spencer St. John, the English minister, a resident in this island for many years, who states in detail the horror of

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despotism that governs the island, and who gives the details of the dreadful practice of the voodoo, and who charges child stealing and cannibalism to these people. I will give only a few of the many other proofs.

"A man, of course a general, is in prison for treason or a *detournement* of funds. (This is a delicate way they speak of stealing in Haiti when they will speak of it at all.) It is a question of such minor importance, simply whether the man shall live or die, that the President will not defer it to the Papaloi or Voodoo priest, who lives in the hills behind the city, so he drops a manikin of clay upon the floor. If it breaks, the man dies; if it remains intact, then he lives—as long as the noisome atmosphere of a Haitian prison will let him. . . .

"Again the doubt, the President would draw a line across the floor of his sanctum and then pitch manikins, this time made of wood and attired in the gaudy glory of Haitian generals. If the puppets passed the line, it meant one thing; if they lagged behind, it meant another, and so the State papers were fashioned and the presidential decrees inspired in Haiti.

"But of course upon the graver questions the Papaloi and the Mamaloi, the high priest and the high priestess of the Voodoo sect, sat in judgment. The Papaloi, or Guinea coast prophet, with his fetich worship and his Congo prayers, is the one solid, substantial fact in Haiti. Around about him turn Haitian life and politics. In some administrations the doors of the Black House have not been as wide open to these prophets of the night as they

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were while Nord Alexis ruled, but never have they been closed except in the reign of the mulatto Geffrard some forty years ago, and his was a short and little day and ended with exile to Jamaica, where, under the guidance of intelligent and sympathetic white men, the Afro-American is accomplishing more, perhaps, than anywhere else.

"The cannibalistic feed is only indulged in on rare occasions and at long intervals, and is always shrouded in mystery and hedged about with every precaution against interlopers; for, be their African ignorance ever so dense, their carnal fury ever so unbridled, the Papalois and Mamalois, the head men and head women worshipers never seem to forget that in these vile excesses there should perhaps be found excuse enough for the interference of the civilized world to save the people of the Black Republic from the further degradation which awaits them.

"Within the last fifteen years human victims have been sacrificed to the great god Voodoo in the national palace of Haiti. Last February there was assembled in the national palace what might justly be called a congress of serpent worshipers. During the life of Mme. Nord, which came to an end in October, 1908, not a week passed but what a meeting of the Voodoo practitioners was held in the executive mansion, and her deathbed was surrounded by at least a score of these witch doctors."—BONSAL, "The American Mediterranean."

"The serpent is the deity of the voodoos, and he is represented by a high priest, called the Papaloi, and a priestess, the Mamaloi; meaning the father and the mother

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king. Their demands are absolute, and no sectary dare disobey them. In this lies their menace to good government, and it is well known that even some of the rulers of Haiti have been dominated by them. The worship of the serpent is carried on as secretly as possible; the sectaries are bound by oaths of secrecy, and their incantations take place in the night. The serpent is consulted, through the priest or priestess, and the devotees then indulge in dancing and song, generally ending in the grossest forms of debauchery."—OBER, "The Wake of Columbus."

"But this is not the worst. Immorality is so universal that it almost ceases to be a fault, for a fault implies an exception, and in Haiti it is the rule. Young people make experiment of one another before they will enter into any closer connection. So far they are no worse than in our own English islands, where the custom is equally general; but behind the immorality, behind the religiosity, there lies active and alive the horrible revival of the West African superstitions; the serpent worship, and the child sacrifice, and the cannibalism. There is no room to doubt it. A missionary assured me that an instance of it occurred only a year ago within his own personal knowledge. The facts are notorious; a full account was published in one of the local newspapers, and the only result was that the President imprisoned the editor for exposing the country. A few years ago persons guilty of these infamies were tried and punished; now they are left alone, because to prosecute and convict them would be to acknowledge the truth of the indictment."—FROUDE, "The English in the West Indies."

"No accurate history of Haiti can be written without

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reference to the horrible sorcery, called the religion of Voodoo, which was introduced into the country with the slaves from Africa. Its creed is that the God Voodoo has the power usually ascribed to the Christian's Lord, and that he shows himself to his good friends, the negroes, under the form of a non-venomous snake, and transmits his power through a chief priest or priestess. These are called either king and queen, master or mistress, or generally as Papalois and Mamalois. The principal act of worship consists of a wild dance, attended by grotesque gesticulations, which leads up to the most disgraceful orgies. A secret oath binds all the voodoos, on the taking of which, the lips of the neophyte are usually touched with warm goat's blood, which is intended to inspire terror. He promises to submit to death should he ever reveal the secrets of the fraternity, and to put to death any traitor to the sect. It is affirmed, and no doubt is true, that on special occasions a sacrifice is made of a living child, or the "goat without horns," as it is called, and then cannibalism in its worst form is indulged in. Under the circumstances of taking the oath of allegiance, it should cause no surprise that the Haitians claim that this is not true and defy any white man to produce evidence of guilt. But, notwithstanding, no one can read the horrible tales published by one of the British ministers to Haiti, which described in detail the revolting practices of the voodoos, together with the proofs he brings to substantiate the truth of the allegations, without coming to the reluctant conclusion that cannibalism is resorted to in these meetings. Of course, no white man could long live on the island after having given testimony leading to the conviction of culprits in such cases, and therefore the negroes' demand for

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proof can never be satisfied. Indeed, it is said that even some presidents who have openly discouraged the voodoo practices have come to violent deaths from this cause.

"The character of the meetings of the voodoos, which take place in secluded spots in the thick woods, is well known, and I have been given a description of one of them from an eye-witness, who is an officer of our navy, which no one could hear without a shudder. He states in brief that one day while out hunting he abruptly ran into a camp of worshipers, which was located in a lonely spot in the woods, and the horrors he there saw made an indelible impression upon his mind.

"When his presence was discovered he was immediately seized by a frenzied crowd of men and women, and for some minutes there did not seem to be a question but that his life was to be forfeited; but the Papalois called a halt and a council, apparently, to determine what action should be taken, and while this was in session a handful of coin, judiciously scattered, diverted the thoughts of the negroes for the time being from their captive. The usual sacrifice of a live white rooster was now brought on, seeing which the people were called back to their worship, and the ceremonies went on in his presence.

"In the horrible struggle which took place for possession, the bird was torn literally to pieces, and he had no doubt that its accompaniment, the "goat without horns," would soon follow. While this was in progress his presence seemed to be forgotten, and, watching a good opportunity, he ran for his very life, not stopping until he reached the protection of his ship.

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Rear-Admiral Chester further says:

"But there is one thing common to the whole country, of which every Haitian denies the existence: Vaudoux is the one thing which they declare they have not. They tell you there is no snake-worship (I am speaking of the higher classes) within the bounds of the republic. But when you betray certain knowledge of the subject, they admit that though sacrifices and savage dances may take place in other departments, no such things are known in that one in which you at the moment find yourself.

"Thus in Jacmel they told me I should find Vaudoux in Port-au-Prince and the Plain of Cul-de-Sac. In Port-au-Prince, as I was actually returning from witnessing a sacrifice within the limits of the town, I was advised to go to the Cape, where alone such rites flourished. And at the Cape they told me to take ship for Jacmel, for there I would assuredly find them. As a matter of plain fact, the traveler riding across the country in any direction is quite likely to come suddenly in view of the ceremonies in full swing. He will see the tell-tale dances, the faces smeared in blood, perhaps even the body of the black goat, the sacred sacrifice."—PRICHARD, "Where Black Rules White."

"It may bear away the palm of being the most foul-smelling, dirty, and consequently fever-stricken city in the world. Every one throws his refuse before his door, so that heaps of manure and every species of rubbish encumber the way.

"As to the streets, they do not seem to have been mended for the last hundred years. The Haitians have a say-

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ing, 'Bon Dieu gâte li; bon Dieu pareé li' (God spoilt them, and God will mend them). As the 'bon Dieu' only helps those who help themselves, and as the Haitians have no desire to help themselves in the way of making or repairing their roadways, their condition is frightful beyond description. The gutters are open, pools of stagnant and fetid water obstruct the streets everywhere, and receive constant accessions from the inhabitants using them as cesspools and sewers. There are few good buildings in town, and none in the country, the torch of the incendiary being constantly applied, and no ecouragement offered to rebuild, through protection of the government or local enterprises. Buildings destroyed by earthquake or fire are never replaced, and the nearest approach to rebuilding is seen in the slab shanty leaning against the ruined walls of a large structure demolished."—OBER, "In the Wake of Columbus."

Rear-Admiral Colby M. Chester, in his article on "Haiti: A Degenerating Island," further says:

"Of the eleven ports of Haiti open to foreign commerce, Cape Haitien and Port-au-Prince are the largest and most progressive.

"Cape Haitien, or 'The Cape,' as it is commonly called, is situated on the northwestern coast, at the foot of a hill that slopes back to the sea, with most picturesque surroundings. It has a commodious harbor and supports a population of 30,000 or 40,000 people. Under the French, it was the capital of the colony, and its wealth, splendor, and luxury gained for it the name of Little Paris; but now

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the structures erected by the French in colonial days are a mass of ruins, the parks overgrown with tropical weeds, the fountains choked with débris, the gutters filled with filth, all producing pestilential emanations from which foreigners speedily run away, if they are forced into its environments.

"Port-au-Prince, the present capital of the Republic, as well as its largest and most important city, is likewise most picturesquely located at the foot of hills, where one may escape from its blistering and filthy streets to mountain resorts that would be popular if located in almost any country of the world. Unlike Cape Haitien, the city is cut off from the trade-winds, to which this island owes so much of its salubriousness, and therefore it is hot; but still the traveler caught in the town may frequently felicitate himself when he reads that cities in our own country have higher temperatures by 10 to 15 degrees than is usually found here. The city is well supplied with the most delicious mountain water, and if its 60,000 inhabitants used it as freely as do Americans, it might be as clean as nature made it. As it is, it may well hold the palm for being the most filthy, foul-smelling, and, consequently, fever-stricken city in the world. The gutters of the streets, which may be said to cover the whole roadbeds, are filled with stagnant waters and are used as cesspools by the people. But for the torrential rains, which pour down the mountain sides and carry off all the filth, into the beautiful bay, even a Haitian could not live there. But the bay, thus polluted, is quite as much of a menace to health as the city itself. During the visits of American men-of-war to the port, most of the time is spent in keeping the people from the pestilential vapors which emanate

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from the sea itself. The water of the harbor is so bad that it cannot be used even for scrubbing the decks of the ship."

"No one can foretell the future of the Black Republic, but the present order of things cannot last in an island so close under the American shores. If the Americans forbid any other power to interfere, they will have to interfere themselves. If they find Mormonism an intolerable blot upon their escutcheon, they will have to put a stop in some way or other to cannibalism and devil-worship. Meanwhile, the ninety years of negro self-government have had their use in showing what it really means, and if English statesmen, either to save themselves trouble or to please the prevailing uninstructed sentiment, insist on extending it, they will be found when the accounts are made up to have been no better friends to the unlucky negro than their slave-trading forefathers."—FROUDE, "The English in the West Indies."

Mining is largely an unknown occupation in Haiti. Agriculture has languished, although it is true that in 1912 the coffee crop increased, and concessions have been made to some timber enterprises; but little has been done in the way of enterprise and action in this island situated athwart the commerce of the world. If this condition were sporadic and lasted but for a time, it would be a proposition for consideration; but when the island is lapsing practically into degeneracy, when the

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government is a continuous revolution, and the state of religion is as the proofs indicated, are not the peace and safety of this country constantly in peril by reason of the condition of this island, so near to us and so important to our life?

These statements are not pleasant. They are not made for any sinister purpose; the object is to bring to the attention of our people a condition of affairs at our very doors, a condition that is of vital and increasing importance to this nation. It is easy to apply the Monroe Doctrine as to non-interference on the part of European nations with our hemisphere. The great question is our own position with the nations of this hemisphere, nations that may offend against the doctrine which conserves the peace and safety of our government. With the world movement of to-day, with the enormous changes which have taken place by reason of the building of the Isthmian Canal, can our peace and safety be preserved if we sit by and allow an international nuisance to bring upon this country the interference of the nations of Europe, and compel us by blood and treasure to enforce the original application of our doctrine of European non-interference? Free Cuba and the free Central and South American states attest the fact that one of the great fundamental desires of this re-

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public is that it shall be surrounded by free peoples and free governments. It seems to be apparent, however, that the time has arrived when the conditions in and along the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea can no longer be tolerated. These seas, for many years, have been silent seas. The conditions are now changed, and the great trade routes of the world will pass about this island and over these seas, which will be noisy with the whirl of the propeller and bright with the sails of ships.

"The peoples of European civilization, after a period of comparative repose, are again advancing all along the line, to occupy not only the desert places of the earth but the debatable grounds, the buffer territories, which hitherto have separated them from those ancient nations, with whom they now soon must stand face to face and border to border."—MAHAN.

Can the peace and safety of this country be preserved unless we adopt the measures which are the inalienable right of every nation? The world, with the shortening of trade routes, the touching of nations, and their needs for sure commercial conditions, is arriving at the thought that there is no inalienable right on the part of any people to control any region to the detriment and injury of

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the world at large. This is not a covert assertion that under the Monroe Doctrine this nation can take control of the affairs of other states of this hemisphere, when the policy of that country does not suit our theories and ideas. It means, however, that when a country on these two seas persists in being an international nuisance, when it shows to the world a condition of general degeneracy, by which it practically gives notice that there can be no improvement, this government, under the Monroe Doctrine, will adopt measures for its own peace and protection and for the preservation of the trade and commerce of the seas, which are within this country's commercial life.

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VIII

OBJECT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The Monroe Doctrine is nothing more nor less than a doctrine of self-preservation. To permit the condition of the Republic of Haiti to exist, without interference or protest on our part, is illogical. Under the Monroe Doctrine we say to European nations that they shall not for any cause lay their hands heavily upon a country in this hemisphere. At the same time, in accordance with the views of many people of our day, we ourselves have not the right to interfere. Hence, unless we interfere or permit the European nations that privilege there must be a continuance of the status.

The original object of the Monroe Doctrine was to prevent the control and colonization of the independent states of this hemisphere by European nations. This does not mean that with any orderly or stable government this government should occupy the position of suzerainty or im-

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plied control. No American believes that great states, like Argentina, Brazil, or Chile, with their stable governments, should be under our control, either implied or actual. Still, every one who understands the conditions of the day believes that a logical corollary of the Monroe Doctrine demands that the nations of this hemisphere shall, in their governmental affairs, do nothing that would infringe upon the rights or impair the peace and safety of the American government. Since the construction of the canal, this condition has become intensified. This government is practically a trustee for the world in its possession of the Isthmian Canal. Is it conceivable that, with our enormously increased interests, we should sit idly by and allow the peace and safety of this country to be interfered with by a country that is a plague spot to the nations of the earth?

A great part of American commerce and a large part of the traffic of the world will be through the American seas, between the walls of this canal, and by the shores of this island. These seas will become more populous with commerce than any other section of the world. They will be a gathering place and a crossing point for the East and the West; and their possession, either forcibly or otherwise, will carry with it more po-

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tentiality than the possession of any other body of water on the face of the earth. It will be absolutely necessary that the outposts of the canal shall be in the hands of strong and stable governments, and it cannot be thought that the harbors necessary for that commerce and the islands by which it will pass, islands in whose broad bays it will be compelled to anchor, shall be rife with revolution and dangerous to that commerce. Is it wise that this country, which is practically guardian of this commerce, should allow a condition to obtain that is a daily menace to this great American commerce—a condition that will surely bring about complications which must interfere with the peace and safety of this country?

This great traffic must be clear and safe, and the responsibility is upon us to see that within these seas the rights of a hundred million people and their unborn descendants shall not be infringed by countries that are not able to preserve a stable government for themselves.

Our government believes that the fundamental principles of a country's life should be freedom and consent of the governed, yet it is idle to speak of the consent of the governed in an island which has never known anything but a blood-stained despotism.

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"It is untruthful folly to assert that it is possible for the United States, or for any other great nation, to treat an anarchic and wrongdoing country on a footing of real and full equality of which I have above spoken as representing that plane of conduct which should characterize all the dealings between my nation and your own, and my nation and certain other South American republics. I hope, and I am reasonably confident, that the less advanced nations of the New World will in their turn gradually advance just as my nation and yours, as well as certain others, have already advanced. As soon as any such nation in the course of its advance reaches a position of self-respecting strength and orderly liberty and achieved power to do and to exact justice, then it should at once step out from any position of tutelage in any respect."—ROOSEVELT, "Chile and the Monroe Doctrine."

A distinguished writer, in advocating the abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine, speaks of it as if all danger to the South and Central American republics were over. Permit a little plain speaking on this subject, for frankness is sometimes helpful in the great affairs of the world as well as in the small.

I believe if it had not been for the promulgation and the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine by this republic, there would not to-day be on the continent of South America, or in Central America, a government independent of European con-

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trol. Let us look at the situation of to-day throughout the world, and ascertain if there is any change in the desires of the nations since the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine.

The earth hunger of the European countries is fiercer than ever in its history. Their vastly increasing populations demand an enlargement of their national life, and the peoples of the European governments demand more food and more labor than their countries can furnish. The great new markets of the world are South and Central America, China, and some parts of Africa. China has been practically delimited into spheres of influence by the European governments, and the Japanese, and Mongolia has been raped from her bosom. The gaunt breast of Africa has been seized and marked out by the European governments for their own. The whitening bones of Italian, Arab, and Turk in Tripoli, the fierce anger of France and Germany only last year over Morocco, the busy colonization plans of Europe in Northern Africa, the strife over the dying Moslem Empire, the seizure and occupation of Egypt by England, and the tremendous conflict between Russia and Japan, which, in its last analysis, was a conflict for territory, all attest that to-day the earth hunger is not satiated. From this

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it seems that were it not for the power of the Monroe Doctrine, within ten years, excepting Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, there would not be a free and independent government in South America. Their marvelous natural wealth, their splendor of climate, their richness of flora and fauna, and their wealth of precious metals, would more surely provoke the desire of the European nations than the gaunt, fever-stricken and fierce sunburned wastes of Africa.

"The territorial responsibilities of the Latin-American nations are greatly in excess of their respective populations. The seventeen republics from Mexico to Cape Horn, with an area several times that of Central Europe, contain at best seventy million inhabitants, who could be comfortably housed in any one of the larger republics, leaving the immense remaining territory available for European expansion. Can Tripoli compare with the broad and fertile plains of Northern Venezuela, bordering on the Caribbean? Or Morocco with the Atlantic coast section of Colombia? Can the Congo compare favorably with the Amazon, or Madagascar or West Africa with the inner lands of Peru, or Bolivia, or of Ecuador?

"The consideration of such possibilities implies no wanton spirit of alarmism. If Tripoli has been thought worth Italy's present effort, and Morocco France's recent venture, why should not the infinitely richer Caribbean coast

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fare likewise? No one in his senses, surely, would outrage the Powers by supposing that their abstention has been prompted by moral considerations; their reputation is too well established."—SEÑOR A. DEMANON-ALBAS, in the *English Review of Reviews,* quoted by Wheless.

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IX

APPLICATION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Those who feel that the Monroe Doctrine is outworn, that it should be abrogated, evidently do not remember very modern history. My meaning is illustrated by an incident in connection with one of the great A B C nations of the South American continent, an incident that many of us remember as if it had occurred yesterday, when the revolution against the republic was inaugurated in Brazil. For the purpose of reëstablishing the empire, the navy of Brazil was in favor of the overturning of the republic and the restoration of the Braganza family to the head of an imperial Brazilian government. In the harbor of Rio Janeiro was congregated an assembly of the warships of the monarchies of Europe and of the republic of the United States. The commanders of the European squadrons were in sympathy with the revolutionists and were unwilling to do anything that would interfere with the plans of the

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imperialists. When the imperialists attempted to establish a blockade, to carry out their plans of revolution, the American commander, acting under the Monroe Doctrine, by direction of our government in Washington, was the only naval commander who objected, and he cleared for action and forced the admiral commanding the imperial forces to desist from his purposes. It must be remembered that this incident occurred only in 1893, and that it happened to the great republican government of Brazil, our friend and neighbor.

Let us take another modern and well-known application. So late as 1894 the British government attempted to force a situation with Venezuela, a situation that would bring about British control of the Orinoco region and practically shut up in British hands the control of one of the greatest rivers of commerce, a region that has imperial potentialities of trade and commercial life. Had it not been for the strong hand of this government, acting through the Monroe Doctrine and under its provisions, an important field of commerce, a vast region of South America, a great portion of an independent republic, and the control of a mighty river would to-day be in the grasp of the British empire.

Another illustration was the attempted enforce-

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ment, 1901-1904, by the governments of Germany, England, and Italy of the payment of the Venezuelan debt. Had it not been for the vigorous representations of our government that under the Monroe Doctrine it would not permit heavy burdens to be placed upon the Venezuelan Republic, it is plain that the European governments would not have held their hands in the enforcement of their claims against Venezuela. These governments have not often returned to the possession of their owners any territory taken under pretense of collection of debts or seized for the infringement of any of their rights. Here was a practical recognition, both by act and by written statement, of the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine in preventing the great European governments from laying their hands heavily upon countries of this hemisphere. The Magdalena Bay incident is another case; and while the attempt to obtain possession of this important strategic position was denied, still there was, practically, a recognition of the Doctrine by the Japanese government.

The question of European interference is not dead. To every one who reads there arises the question of the settlement of the position of the great foreign colonies in South America. Every

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well-informed student of public affairs and international matters is looking forward to the time when friction will develop between the home governments of these colonists and the republics within whose territories they live.

The enormous importance of this has not been thoroughly understood by the people of our country. One illustration of the many at hand will suffice in the statement of Prof. Schmoller, of the Prussian Privy Council: "We must wish that at any price a German country peopled by twenty or thirty million Germans must grow up in Brazil."

"The people of the United States have learned in the school of experience to what extent the relations of states to each other depend, not upon sentiment nor principle, but upon selfish interest. They will not soon forget that, in their hour of distress, all their anxieties and burdens were aggravated by the possibility of demonstrations against their national life on the part of the powers with whom they had long maintained the most harmonious relations. They have yet in mind that France seized upon the apparent opportunity of our civil war to set up a monarchy in the adjoining state of Mexico. They realize that had France and Great Britain held important South American possessions to work from and to benefit, the temptation to destroy the predominance of the Great Republic in this hemisphere by furthering its dismemberment might have been irresistible. From that grave peril they have been saved in the past and may be saved again in

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the future through the operation of the sure but silent force of the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe. To abandon it, on the other hand, disregarding both the logic of the situation and the facts of our past experience, would be to renounce a policy which has proved both an easy defense against foreign aggression and a prolific source of internal progress and prosperity."—SECRETARY OLNEY.

We desire to go in peace and equity with the peoples of this hemisphere to that consummation where all will be kindliness and trust between this republic and our neighbors. Still, the great thought of this republic is that it is best for all to maintain the Monroe Doctrine in all its virility. With our President we expressly disclaim any desire of conquest, nor do we wish any suzerainty or control of the stable nations of this hemisphere. Here is where the correct differentiation as to the Latin countries is lost. It is idle to speak of the great nations, stable and orderly as they are, as standing on a level with disorderly, revolution-ridden despotisms, such as have been here discussed and which largely obtain in Latin America. This doctrine is fundamentally necessary to the existence of the peace and safety of this country, and we wish the moral support of the great and stable nations of South America to carry it to its full fruition.

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The application of these propositions to the subject under consideration is plain. It will not do to say that the revolutions of these people mark an era and establish a stage of development on the line of governmental sobriety and national character, nor that they are contending for some great principle, as did the English in working out their ideas of constitutional government. Such is the contention of some of those that write of this island. No upward step had been taken by the Haitians; and while their continuous revolutions bring about an enormous loss in both governmental affairs and economic matters, these people will not reach the ultimate high level that will be for the benefit of mankind. By reason of their training, their inherent constitution, and their traditions, their condition has become surely and steadily worse. We cannot say: "Let them alone; their condition will right itself," for there is nothing to show hope of improvement.

This debased condition is not the result of circumstances, which have been truly unfortunate, but it grows from the inherent nature and spirit of the people, fundamentals that cannot be changed by the few forms of civilization adopted by them. The proofs, so abundant, show that they are not

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fitted for self-government; and their condition, if left to itself, will become worse than it is to-day.

By the control of the strong hand of a civilized government they may be able to emerge from the condition of anarchy and despair that surrounds their so-called republic; but they will never be able of themselves to rise from the deep bog in which they have been floundering for more than a century.

This is well illustrated by the neighboring republic of San Domingo. After the control by this government of its custom houses and finances, and the payment of its debts, and the honest expenditure of its greatly increased revenues, it would seem that the results would be sufficient to show the people that the ways of civilization are happier than are the ways of revolution and anarchy. However, after nine years of debt-paying, with a touch of experience of constitutional government, they have again broken into their old ways of insurrection, and the island is again weltering in blood and in the throes of dreadful anarchy.

It would seem that the only hope of permanent improvement must spring from the control of their governmental affairs by the strong hands of a civilized government. After years of control, such as is indicated, these people may emerge into

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the light of a better day, but constitutionally they seem to be opposed to the trammels of civilized government; and it is a serious question whether after years of leadership and practical control by civilized effort they will ever bring themselves to a condition where they will be able to carry into orderly fruition the principles of free government.

While this government has no desire for conquest, yet the great advance in the world movement and in the vital commercial affairs of the globe demands that the peace and safety of this hemisphere shall not be needlessly and wickedly broken, and that the peace, happiness, and safety of this nation and the commerce of the world within the bounds of our governmental life shall not be imperiled in the future. The tremendous impetus which, under the world movements of today, has been so potent and plain demands order in all the affairs and details of its life. The conditions of the times and the dependence of one part of the globe upon the other, brought about by the easy interchange between the nations, mean that no disorder in that great world commerce will be again lightly tolerated.

Under the plainest and fairest interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, that instrument reaches

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easily the subject under discussion. Under its original application it will not allow a situation to obtain which will give foreign nations the opportunity to interfere in the governmental life of countries of our hemisphere. Under the fundamental meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, it will imperil the peace, safety, and happiness of this country if an island, lying at our doors, within touch of our daily life, athwart our greatest line of commerce, be allowed to continue its life of disorder.

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X

THE MENACE OF HAITI

This discussion is not a mere moot question. The condition of the Republic of Haiti is fraught at this time with peril to the peace and safety of the United States, both as regards the original application of the Monroe Doctrine, as to actual interference with our hemisphere by foreign powers, and also in its later application and extension, by endangering the peace and safety of this country through its moral and governmental degeneration.

All students of these affairs are familiar with the episode that brought about the destruction of the *Crete-à-Pierrot* by the German cruiser *Panther*. Within a month the Republic of Haiti, reeking with blood, was in the throes of one of its almost continuous revolutions. Our government has time and again been compelled to intervene to save the lives of those engaged in Haiti's internecine wars. Repeatedly, by reason of its condition, war has been almost precipitated between

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the Haitian government and the nations of Europe.

The government of Haiti is bankrupt, and its debt amounts to more than thirty-five millions of dollars. It has often defaulted in the payment of its debts; and within the last few months the French government impounded the Haitian navy to compel the payment of the interest to the citizens of France. This was done again within a short time by the German government, and a German ship by force compelled the payment of money due the citizens of that government. The same action, in effect, was taken within the last month by the English government, which compelled, under threats of war, the payment of money due the English bond-holders.

We do not pretend to set down the long list of interferences by the armed forces of foreign nations in the affairs of Haiti, but we give as an illustration of the danger of this situation that which is to-day taking place in the immediate lines of our commerce, on, practically, the shore line of the government of the United States.

It is now reported, with seemingly important proof, that the German government has lately sought control of Haiti in return for a loan of two millions of dollars, and that Germany was to re-

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ceive important rights in its ports and have charge of the custom receipts, and that the contract was to include a coaling station at Mole Saint Nicholas. The German government has denied this statement. Yet, in its letter of denial it added this most significant and important statement: "The German government had joined with other European governments in representing to Washington that the interests of European countries in Haiti are so large that no scheme of reorganization or control can be regarded as acceptable, unless it is undertaken under international auspices."

A large portion of the debt of the Haitian republic is owing to German and French citizens. The demand of the German government, in effect, is that such control as is set out in its note would be the practical control of Haiti by Germany and France. It would be a tripartite agreement between Germany, France, and the United States, with the two former countries acting together as against our country. This proposition is to-day pending, and it looks to the control of this important and strategic island by foreign governments, one of which has important interest in securing a position in either the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean Sea.

The statement of the German government is

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practically a warning, and it is the part of statesmanship that this warning should be heeded. The condition of Haiti, which is in danger of bringing about this important interference with the Monroe Doctrine and with the peace and safety of this nation, should be terminated by a vigorous and firm exercise by this government of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and thus prevent the recurrence of a situation that may at any time bring about an infraction of the doctrine by European governments.

This position of our country should breed no distrust among the self-respecting and stable nations on this hemisphere. We will go along with them, hand in hand, and, with their assistance, help the nations that are weak, and we will do what we can to place them on eternal foundations of freedom and order, so that they may become part and parcel of this great, free brotherhood on the western hemisphere. This does not mean, however, that under the Monroe Doctrine we are to allow any weak, degenerating, bankrupt, and emasculated country the continued right to bring about a situation that will involve this country in war, imperil our peace and safety, or hamper and interfere with our commerce.

This is not an untoward extension of the Mon-

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roe Doctrine. By the progression of the world and change of the lines of commerce the Monroe Doctrine has been modified, not in its fundamental principles, but the mode, manner, and time of its application must be different from what they were when it was originally enunciated. This government, under the Doctrine, cannot sit idly by and wait until the actual encroachment of foreign powers upon this hemisphere, an encroachment brought about by the condition of our so-called republics, shall take place. The Doctrine is a national right that cannot be neglected, and it is a "national policy based upon a natural right, as inalienable from nationality as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable from humanity."

The demands of the civilized world sooner or later will compel the United States to interfere in the affairs of Haiti and in the governments of other countries similarly situated, in order to prevent further offense against the laws of civilization and decency. Civilization will not much longer tolerate plague spots in the midst of its work. It is unthinkable that a condition will be allowed to continue at our door, where great ships under our flag, filled with our citizens, will be at the mercy of bloody and half-civilized revolutionists,

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and where the laws of civilization governing commerce and harbors, lighthouses and charting of channels are practically set at naught.

Not much longer will it be tolerated within thirty hours of our greatest port, on a line with our most important commerce, that the idolatry of the snake and the control of the witch doctor should be supreme, that cannibalism should be charged and proven, that absolutism should exist in its worst form, and that, under the present system, the impoverishment and destruction of a great island—almost part of our shore line—should occur, and that its political, moral, and financial degeneracy should be brought about by the dreadful governmental and economical forces at work within its borders.

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XI

THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

A great writer speaks of the abrogation of the doctrine, and voices the distrust and suspicion among the nations of the southern hemisphere. In reply to this we present the pages of history; and we ask, Under what government, people, or system that has ever existed have there been preserved, in their freedom and governmental life, so many weak nations as have existed on this hemisphere, side by side with this powerful republic? He has cited as cause of distrust California and Mexico. These were life movements, absolutely instinctive in their being, movements that were demanded by the very existence of this nation.

Distinguished writers so frequently discuss the jealousy of the South American nations toward the United States by reason of the Monroe Doctrine. One has gone so far as to give in detail the size and strength of South American dreadnoughts, and to dwell, with immense particularity, on the

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amount of beef and wheat raised and shipped by these nations.

It is true that some jealousy does really exist. That cannot be avoided. The thinking statesmen of the South American countries, however, do not believe in the unjust aggression of the United States. Those of them who know the situation, and understand it, do not fear the Monroe Doctrine nor its consequences. There are professional politicians in South America who fan the embers of distrust for their own uprising and for their own purposes; but the great trend of sentiment and thought on the part of the leaders in the great states of South America is not in this direction.

I quote the statement of Señor Zabellos of Argentina, as a fair indication of the thought of those of South America who know the real feeling of our country toward its southern neighbors:

"What other countries of America have the same world problems as Panama and Mexico, the latter on the frontier of the United States, and the former the throat of the continent itself? They have nothing in common with the problems of the River Plata, or the shores of Brazil, or the coast of Chile. The Monroe Doctrine is necessary to-day to the United States. The Caribbean Sea washes the coast of the richest part of the United States, and it

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is necessary that it be dominated by them, in order to guarantee the independence and security of the United States. Under these circumstances, when there is constant danger of European intervention, as in the case of Venezuela, the United States said to the Powers, in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine: 'You can urge your claims in accordance with international procedure, but you cannot take territory, because if you do you will have to deal with the armed forces of the United States.' The Powers thereupon became less aggressive and the matter was settled by arbitration. This action of the United States emphasized once more the doctrine that no European Power will be permitted to acquire territory on the continent of America."

Thoughtful men do not agree with the contention made in some directions that the Monroe Doctrine should be enforced under an agreement with South American states. It seems that this would be impracticable. The Monroe Doctrine is necessarily an emergency doctrine. While it is fundamental, the demand for its action is immediate and decisive. It is a doctrine that demands absolute and direct action to make it effective. Very many serious questions arise as to the practicability of the carrying out of any such agreement between the states of South America and the United States.

In the first place, the interests of this govern-

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ment are greater than the interests of any other government on this hemisphere. What relative power would this government have as against the other contracting powers? The Monroe Doctrine is a doctrine peculiarly applying to the United States. When this doctrine shall have been changed, so that it applies to other governments, necessarily its very essence will be destroyed.

Again, the history of international affairs goes to show that permanent agreements between nations diverse in thought, life, sentiment, situation, and race, have never been successful. Here would be an agreement for the enforcement of the doctrine between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin nations, nations totally diverse in temperament, and also between nations whose whole financial status and local situation are absolutely different from those of the United States.

Suppose, for instance, a question should arise between England and some of the South American states, and that the contracting powers for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine should be the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Those who know the situation in Argentina would not suppose for a moment that Argentina would oppose England in some controversy as to some

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minor state—a state that would be important to the United States, but relatively unimportant to Argentina. This illustration applies with equal force as to the other South American states. The money with which these great states are being developed, and the population which is largely engaged in developing them, come from Europe, and Europe could injure these states financially if they opposed European interests in the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.

This is merely one illustration of the multitude of troubles that would come of an agreement that the Monroe Doctrine should be enforced by a joint action of South American states and the United States. The questions are so absolutely diverse as between the United States and these countries that no unity of action could be brought about to make the enforcement of the doctrine effective. While this is true, the Monroe Doctrine should not be enforced with the strong hand, but should be carried out in justice, in courtesy, and in fairness between our country and the countries of South America. This honesty and respect obtain among nations, just as they do among men, and by the immutable laws of cause and effect, and the action of this government upon a high plane will

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surely obtain and hold the respect of the countries of South America.

"Whatever must be brought about between this powerful country, the United States, and the South American Republics will come of itself. Sympathy, loyal and honorable treatment, proximity, an intimacy as close as possible between the men directing the destinies of these peoples, and especially reciprocal interests, will of themselves effect a political and an economic *entente*. There is need of no artificial measures, for they are ever fragile and often unproductive. The play of the natural laws of human progress must be left free."—DR. MARCIAL MARTINEZ, of Chile.

The Monroe Doctrine, within its very nature, is a doctrine that is fundamental to the United States and peculiar to our government. While it should be carried out in justice, the mode, the time, the place, and the manner of its operation should be, and I believe will be, directed and controlled absolutely by the United States. To place it in other hands would be the destruction of the doctrine, which has been vital to this country and to this hemisphere, and would cause the weakening of the hands of this government in the direction where international trade and governmental decency will demand that our hands should be strong and absolutely free to act decisively in the great

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international emergencies that arise so unexpectedly, emergencies that are fraught with such momentous consequences.

The doctrine of Monroe is a doctrine of help and peace. It is true that those who love our country believe that this republic "looks hopefully to the time when, by the voluntary departure of European governments from this continent and the adjacent islands, America shall be wholly American." Still, these governments and their systems are here, they are a part of the life of this hemisphere. They will surely demand that we preserve order and conserve the safety of the commerce within our sphere. This means absolute order. To bring about this order this government will not hurt the self-respect nor pride of any of the great and stable nations of our hemisphere. We will work with them along the lines of mutual respect and esteem. Touched by the new life, which is making them so vital and important a part of the world affairs of the day, they will understand that the conditions of other days cannot continue, and that the responsibilities brought about by present world conditions demand that our safety and peace, as well as theirs, compel the continued existence of the Monroe Doctrine in its full virility. When this is understood, there will

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be no distrust. There will be the co-mingling of nations with the same governmental freedom. It will be a great brotherhood, the only one, a brotherhood of free peoples and free nations marching onward hand in hand to the consummation of that blessed time when the strong will not oppose the weak, when order will walk with justice, and when, filled with mutual esteem, confidence, and regard, and touched by the wondrous vitalizing life of freedom, the nations of this hemisphere, great and little, Latin and Anglo-Saxon will show to the world the splendor of freedom in its highest and best development.

THE END

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